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to take the initiative. "The inauguration speech of President Wilson," it says, "gives rise to the hope that he may be the statesman who can and will institute a movement looking to the calling of this new conference." The *Zeitung's* suggestion has not met with any favor at Berlin, where the new military law is being pushed.

. . . In recognition of his services in promoting commerce and good feeling between the United States and Italy in connection with the International Exposition held at Turin in 1911, Mr. Charles Ray Dean, of Washington, D. C., formerly in the State Department for ten years, has been decorated by Victor Emmanuel III with the Order of the Crown of Italy. Mr. Dean was a member of the Commission appointed by President Taft to represent this nation at the Exposition. The decoration, which is an ivory cross, resembling the Maltese cross, mounted with a golden crown at the center, was delivered to Mr. Dean by the Italian Ambassador, Marquis Cusani. Mr. Dean is an active member of the American Peace Society.

Human Nature and the War System.

By Edwin D. Mead.

"Though we have put on the garments of peace and honor, have been softened by Christianity, and have striven nearer to altruism in thought and act, the great fundamental underlying passions and springs of action in men are the same today as they were when Cain slew Abel. Human nature in the mass has changed little or none since the days of the Pharaohs." This was the declaration in his speech at the Navy League convention in Washington, April 10, 1913, by the captain of the dreadnought which was the pennant ship of the fleet in the great naval parade on the Hudson last October. Upon this belief that our interests must conflict with the interests of other strong nations, and that these, "armed and ready," will enter upon war with us whenever their own national interests demand it sufficiently and we are insufficiently defended, he bases his demand for an immense and rapid increase of our present enormous navy.

"When we seek the establishment of lasting and universal peace, we meet an element more elusive, more incalculable, more difficult of conquest than time or space or air, a condition more unchanged, unchanging, and unchangeable than any other in recorded history—human nature." This was Senator Lodge's declaration, in his speech on the arbitration treaties a year before, of the philosophy upon which he bases his policy regarding the movement for unreserved international arbitration. It is one and the same philosophy which commands us to go slowly on arbitration and to go fast on battleships.

It is not surprising that, with this philosophy, the captain of the dreadnought thinks we Americans should tremble when we contemplate the bigger number of dreadnoughts possessed by some of our brother nations; because of course these brothers are the Cains and we are the Abel, although strangely each of them thinks itself Abel and some of them think we are Cain. The argument that other nations will attack us if it is worth their while is argument that we will attack them if it is worth our while. All of the other nations, if they

believe our philosophy is that stated, should on their part tremble at us and our growing power. To cope with the portentous dangers which confront ourselves, the captain says our present navy is utterly inadequate, "a plaything;" but why he would be content with forty-eight battleships, the precise number which he and his associates now demand, does not appear. As matter of fact, we know that if forty-eight were attained tomorrow, the cry the next day would be for more. For some fortunate reason the captain thinks, and I am sure quite correctly, that we need not count the British fleet, "with which no conflict need ever be feared." The Cains whom he thinks should particularly scare us are Germany, France, and Japan. Why Germany and France, with which countries we have never in all our national life had any war and with which we are in more friendly relations today than ever before, rather than England, with whom we have had two wars and have today vastly more commercial and industrial "problems" than with either Germany or France, puzzles the mind; and considering the state of Japan's exchequer, that nation is certainly not likely before the twenty-first century at least to be in condition, even were there any reason for it, which there is not, to invade this immeasurably stronger nation, six thousand miles away, with Russia, according to the theory, always waiting for the propitious hour to pounce upon her and gobble up Manchuria and Korea. But these bald and gross declarations, so representative of the sentiment common and popular in the Navy League and similar bodies, are a solemn warning to the thought and conscience of the Republic, to all makers of public opinion, to ask seriously what kind of philosophy obtains among our people; for it is upon the prevailing philosophy that the nation's attitude and influence in the family of nations surely depend.

Unhappily it is too true that there are still millions of men in every nation whose principles of peace and honor are only "garments" which they put on in good weather and put off for others at the first approach of storm; whose "Christianity" and "altruism" are the thinnest veneer and not the texture. But are we to concede that in this Republic, in England, in France, in Germany, this class is the dominant class and must forever dominate, and that our public policy must be determined by this doom? It is an impeachment of education, of civilization, of all the high devotions and aspirations of men; and to name it, much more to base life and politics upon it, is recreancy and shame. There is now at last no hour, and henceforth will never be an hour, in any civilized nation, when "God's people" cannot control the situation if they will; and today's imperative upon every nation is to live up to its highest as never before and advance with resolution and with confidence the enlightened and righteous organization of the world.

As concerns treaties of international arbitration, Senator Lodge, in his speech a year ago, certainly did not apply the philosophy so severely as to argue that we should conform ourselves forever to the *status quo*; he argued from it that we must expect advance in this field to be very slow, and raised the issue especially whether such purposes and efforts as President Taft's do not demand a progress much more rapid and presuppose a humanity already much better than comport with this

philosophy. He is right in thinking that the demand does not comport with the philosophy; and I submit that the philosophy is false. Grotius, Penn, Leibnitz, Kant, Bentham, Franklin, Jefferson, Hugo, Mazzini, Cobden, Gladstone, Channing, Sumner, and the whole great company of living prophets of a better organized world, not only the party of peace but the party of progress altogether, would emphasize the declaration. All their activities and all their hopes are based upon their confidence that there is no other philosophy of history so false, and that the one thing in this God's universe which has changed most in the few past millenniums which history illuminates, and which is changing fastest today, is this same human nature. Stocks and stones are always stocks and stones, and ape and tiger will always stay ape and tiger; but the nature of the bushman and the savage, the human nature revealed to us in the dawn of the historic process, is almost as different from the nature of Emerson and Lincoln and the generation of Hague conferences as brute from lowest man. History is precisely the record of the change of human nature; and it was Emerson himself who said—and it is but another statement of the same truth—that it is the record of the decline of war. There was not half so much war in Christendom in the nineteenth century as in the eighteenth, and there will not be half so much in the twentieth as in the nineteenth; and the distinctive mark of our age is the development of arbitration and international tribunals.

It would be rash to say that Abraham Lincoln was a greater mind than Daniel Webster; but American human nature advanced so rapidly in the decade following 1850 that he became its vastly truer representative. The imperative movement for international order is at this very time describing the same course which the anti-slavery movement described in that time; it is passing from the stage of a great moral crusade into that of the most urgent and irrepressible political issue. The great Senator whose seat Mr. Lodge now occupies, Charles Sumner, prepared in 1870 a powerful address upon "The Duel Between France and Germany," in which he showed that wars are but the duels of nations. In two centuries our Anglo-Saxon human nature advanced so far that while at the beginning a man who would not fight a duel for his "honor" was accounted no gentleman; at the end he was accounted no gentleman if he would; and precisely the same process is going on with nations, whose duelling is vastly more unjust than the other—for the "gentlemen" were scrupulous that weapons should be equal, and the nations scruple at nothing to get advantage.

Human nature is already vastly better than those believe who so define it as to justify inertia and obstruction. The demands of the man in the street, the burdened millions of Europe and America, the plain people, are so much in advance of the concessions and distrust of the politicians, that the slowness and misgivings of these, their poor esteem of present human nature, are to them incomprehensible; and so great is their revulsion everywhere from the war system, and so clear their sense of its waste, its wickedness, and its irrationality, that they are by wholesale accusing their governments, in their continued compromise with it, of insincerity. Even Mr. Roosevelt said at Christiania three years ago,

"Granted sincerity of purpose, the great powers of the world should find no insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing extravagance of expenditure on naval armaments." Granted a just and true estimate of American human nature in this year of grace and of the measure of civilization which the world has actually achieved, the American Senate would find no difficulty in believing with Mr. Taft that treaties with every one of the great nations which wish for such treaties, "pledging ourselves to abide the adjudication of an international court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory, or money," would be absolutely safe, would be hailed with joy and pride by the overwhelming majority of our people, and would place them where they rightfully belong, in the leadership of the nations in the commanding movement of the age for the supplanting of the system of war by the system of law.

Internationalism.

By Andrea Hofer-Proudfoot, President League of International Amity.

This has been a great century of race wandering.

Not in tribes and hordes have the peoples pushed from deserts to fertile fields, as in prehistoric times, but through railways and steamships they have emptied themselves from one nation into another at the call of industrial opportunity.

The intermixture of races in the last few decades has been so rapidly progressing that we are fast coming into a new attitude toward each other as nations.

Look at the United States alone, which was once a purely English Puritan race. There are more Germans in Chicago today than there are in Vienna. There are more Italians in New York than in Trieste. There are more Polish people in Pittsburg than in Lemberg. There are more Norwegians in Minneapolis and St. Paul than in Bergen. And yet these are distinctly American cities. This fact is true of other countries. There are more Spanish in South America than under the crown of Spain. London is a city of all nations. Canada imports bodily an entire Russian community—the Dhukobors. And so the cases might be multiplied.

Nearly every country has had the same experience in the agglomeration of peoples. With this situation comes for us all a new responsibility for each other, a new inter-racial doctrine, and a new phase of politics.

Alliances with the foreigner as laborer within the borders are quite as necessary today as alliances with foreign nations themselves, for the sake of peace. To make the inwandering portion of the inhabitants potential and helpful they must be adjusted to and understood, lest they honeycomb the native body with dissonances.

Out of all this has grown a distinct movement toward internationalism, and today the internationalist is in our midst circulating his doctrine. Everywhere the word is creeping into the discussions of social and political bodies; newspapers casually picked up announce such gatherings, and the organizations calling themselves "International" are running into the hundreds, where a few decades ago we had hardly anything inter-